X

FOUR CENTURIES OF CONFLICT

FOR THE

Continent of North America,

1497–1897.

BY

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THE STRUGGLE OF THE LATIN PEOPLES AND THE ROMAN CHURCH WITH THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING RACE FOR THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA.

The student of the original sources of our American history finds abundant evidences of the struggle—now going on for centuries—between the Latin peoples and the Roman faith and the English Church and nation for the possession of the continent of North America. When Columbus claimed to give to Castile and Leon not a new world, but a new pathway to the land of Ind, and when the Roman Pontiff confirmed this supposititious gift of the illimitable West to Spain, it was no part of the purpose or policy of their "Catholic Majesties" or the Roman pontiff to share these new possessions with any other people or any other faith. The bull of Pope Alexander VI., in 1493, which assigned the newly-discovered West to Castile and Arragon; and the line drawn by him, who claimed to sit in Peter's seat, which shut out all the world beside from these lands of the setting sun,* made this determination plain. Fran-

*The western hemisphere was given by a bull of Pope Alexander VI., issued the year following the discovery of San Salvador by Columbus, to the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. To avoid interference with a previous grant made by a bull of Pope Eugenius IV., in 1438, to the Crown of Portugal, an imaginary line was conceived to extend from pole to pole, one hundred leagues west of the Azores; and all discoveries east of this dividing line were assigned to Portugal, and all to the west of it to Spain. It was thus that the expression so common in the history of the time, "Beyond the line," had its origin. In England this phrase took form in the popular mind in the expressive words, "No peace with Spain beyond the line," which gave the key-note to English efforts for Western discovery and settlement.

cis I., of France, at a later day ridiculed the evident intention of the Italian pope and the Spanish king to appropriate to themselves all the discoveries in the West; and, in time, was found among the foremost in the struggle of the Latin peoples for a footing and for fortunes on the North American coast. England never recognized this alliance between Spain and Rome to secure sole possession of the Western hemisphere. Little recked John Cabot, sent out on his quest by King Henry VII., the binding obligation of the papal partition of all lands and seas hitherto unknown between Portugal and Spain. It was for England's Crown and England's Church—the Church of Magna Charta—national, free, and with rights and liberties inviolable—that this daring adventurer, sailing westward in the ship Matthew, of Bristol, discovered on S. John Baptist's Day, June 24th, 1497, the North American continent, and took formal possession of the *Prima Vista*—the land first seen. It was Cabot who first found, despite the Roman pontiff's decree, and first explored, indifferent to the papal ban, the territory now possessed by the United States. In raising the cross of Christ, with England's arms affixed, on American soil, Cabot not only laid claim to the continent by virtue of priority of discovery, but also, in deed at least, emphasized England's "protest" against Rome's usurped suprem-

acy and Spain's jealous dislike. Well was it for the future of our land that on the first voyage of Columbus the westerly course, which had been pursued from the start, was changed to a southwesterly direction when the little fleet was within a few hours of reaching the Florida or Carolina shores. A day or two further on their way due west, as Humboldt reminds us, and the potent influences of the Gulf Stream would have borne the ships up the Atlantic coast, and thus revealed to Columbus and his crews the southern territory of the United States. Strangely different would have been our civilization, our Christianity, our institutions, our history, our very features and our speech, had the standard of Castile and the Latin Cross been first planted on the North American mainland now in possession of the United States. God, we may well believe, in His wise Providence caused the deflection of the helms of the caravels of Columbus—the Santa Maria, the Pinta and the Nina, from their westward course that our discovery might be by other hands than those soon to be deeply imbrued in the blood of the gentle aborigines of the islands of the sea. God in His Providence willed that our civilization should be that of the robust Anglo-Saxon, the dauntless Briton, —rather than that of the effeminate Spanish type; that our faith should not be Roman, but primitive, Catholic, reformed;

that our institutions should be those of liberty-loving Englishmen, and not such as the tyrannous Spaniard forced upon Mexico and the South American peoples at the point of the sword. Pope and President have of late years called upon us in allocution and proclamation to celebrate the discovery of America by Columbus. Let us in our gratulations, public and private, and in our felicitations that the new world, often discovered before, was opened four centuries ago to the knowledge and possession of all the nations of Europe, heartily thank God that Columbus did not at least discover the territory of the United States or even the North American continent; and that we as a people owe neither discovery, colonization, institutions, freedom, faith or speech to Spain or Rome. The bull of Borgia,† whose elevation to the papacy was secured by simony, whose life was grossly impure, and whose career displayed his utter selfishness, as well as his irreligious and profound contempt of ecclesiastical propriety and decorum, was not, by the reckless trac-

† Pope Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia), as we learn from the Encyclopædia Britannica, is "memorable as the most characteristic incarnation of the secular spirit of the fifteenth century." Profligate alike in public and private life, destitute of morality, unblushingly licentious, "the simoniacal character of his election" to the papacy "is indisputable." His finances were recruited by the open sale of ecclesiastical offices and spiritual privileges of every kind. He elevated his second natural son, Cæsar, to the Cardinalate at the age of eighteen, unblushing perjury being resorted to, for the purpose of concealing his illegitimate birth. The enormity of Alexander's evil deeds is only exceeded by the effrontery with which they were performed. It was this "holy father" who sent Savonarola to the stake.

ing of a line on a map, to dispose for all time of the greater part of the human race. God had other designs for the Western world; and never again was the successor of S. Peter to appear in history as the undisputed bestower of kingdoms and continents. In the attempt of Pope Alexander VI. to adjust the rival claims of Spain and Portugal to the new world and make it all "a fief of Rome," the papacy appears for the last time as the ultimate tribunal of appeal for Christian nations and as seeming to hold the suzerainship over the heathen world.

It is in evidence that England's statesmen and people rested on this priority of discovery of the continent by the Cabots the nation's claim to the right of a footing in the Western world. In the "Discourse of Western Planting," a closely reasoned and carefully prepared State paper, written by Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of Westminster, at the request of Raleigh in the summer of 1584, and intended to interest the Queen and court of England in the schemes for American colonization of which Raleigh was a chief promoter, we find this claim fully set forth. This "Discourse of Western Planting"‡ was presented to the

‡ The MS. of this important paper was discovered by the late President Leonard Woods, D.D., LL.D., of Bowdoin College, while making researches in England for material illustrating the early history of Maine. It was first printed in the "Collections of the Maine Historical Society" under the editorship of Dr. Woods and the late Charles Deane, LL.D., and has been subsequently included in the reprint of Hakluyt's "Collection of Voyages" recently issued in Edinburgh.

Queen early in the autumn of the year in which it was composed. Copies of the original, as it appears from the records of the Rolls Office, were made for Walsingham and, possibly, for the Earl of Leicester, as well as for Elizabeth. For State reasons, doubtless, it was not included in "the great prose epic of the modern English nation," as Froude styles Hakluyt's "Collection of Voyages," published at this time. The statements contained in this recently discovered manuscript, both from the circumstances of their preparation and the uses they were intended to serve, may be regarded as expressing the earnest convictions of the writer, and the feeling of the popular mind. Hakluyt was certainly well-informed and was quite unlikely to misrepresent existing facts in a paper primarily prepared for the Queen's individual use. It is Hakluyt's assertion that the first object in view in the "Western Planting" he proposed to England's Queen and State was — we quote his words—"the seeking the advancement of the kingdom of Christ;" "the enlargement of the glorious Gospel of Christ;" and the "reducing of infinite multitudes of these simple people" (the aborigines) "that are in error into the right and perfect way of their salvation." These motives he asserts, and "not filthy lucre nor vain ostentation were the objects first in view." Noticing that "the papists claim for themselves Catholic-

ity because they have been the only converters of many millions of infidels to Christianity," Hakluyt urges upon the Queen, as chief among "the princes of the reformed religion," to take in hand this matter of evangelizing the aborigines of America, both as an answer to Romish boasts and also as an assertion of England's right to the possession of the North American continent. "We derive our rights in America," says the great statesman and orator, Edmund Burke, in his "Account of the European Settlements in America," published a century and a half ago, "from the discovery of . . . Cabot, who first made the Northern continent in 1497." "This fact," proceeds this distinguished authority, "is sufficiently certain to establish a right to our settlements in North America." The Northern continent of the new world, writes Justin Winsor in his "*Narrative and Critical History of America*," was discovered by England's Cabot thirteen months and more before Columbus sighted the coast of South America, thinking that he had reached the "land of Ind," the "Cathay" of his life-long quest. It was, as we have said, in June, 1497, that John Cabot, probabaly accompanied by his son Sebastian, sailing under the auspices of King Henry VII., though at the Cabots "own proper cost and charge," tonched the first seen land—the "*terra primum visa*." This "*prima vista*" was either

on the Nova Scotia coast, Labrador, or, possibly, Newfoundland; and the discoverer planted at his landing place a large cross with the flags of England and S. Mark. It was thus that Cabot, as England's representative, took possession of this North American continent his eyes had first seen and his feet had first trod upon, for his royal Master and for England's "Holy Church." Coasting along the shore, possibly as far to the south as Georgia or Florida, but more probably first exploring the Gulf of S. Lawrence and returning through the Strait of Belle Isle and thence sailing to the southward, Cabot, on reaching home, presented to King Henry VII. a map of his discoveries, and a solid globe on which England's new territorial acquisitions were displayed.‖ The son of the discoverer, who, though at the time a youth, was probably with his father on this very voyage, assures us that John Cabot recognized the fact that this first-seen land of the Western continent was not the Indies, but a new world. If this statement, made by Sebastian Cabot, that his father, while disappointed in not finding Cathay or India, as he had hoped, realized the fact that he had found a hitherto unknown land, be accepted as literally true, then not only does the discovery of the Western continent belong to John Cabot, but the further glory is his of knowing

‖"Narrative and Critical History of America," iii., 2.

what he had discovered; while Columbus, as Winsor tells us, "never awoke from the delusion that he had touched the confines of India."[4] "The precedence of the Cabots over Columbus in the discovery of the American Continent," says Justin Winsor in the latest and best of our American histories, "may be taken for granted." To Cabot, then, and not to Columbus; to England and not to Spain, are to be ascribed the finding and first occupancy of the continent of North America, and, consequently, the territory of the United States. We cannot but believe, from a careful and painstaking study of the documentary history of the times, from an examination of the records in the State paper office in England, as well as of those preserved among the Spanish royal archives at Simancas, that the claim of Spain to the sole proprietorship of the new world, founded on the discovery of a West Indian island by Columbus and supported by Pope Alexander's bull, was prominent among the many and mighty agencies which brought about the freeing of England's Church and people from the usurped supremacy of Rome. Else it were hard to understand the intensity of that hatred of Spain and that thorough distrust of the papacy which at this very time, and for centuries afterwards, possessed the English nation, from the peasant to the peer, and which

[4] "Narrative and Critical History," ii., 133.

in the great movement for reform, within half a century subsequent to the discoveries of Columbus and Cabot in the West, pitted the two races and the rival faiths in lasting antagonism.** Charles Kingsley, in his greatest novel, "Westward Ho!" has pictured vividly and with historic truthfulness, the violence of feeling and the bitterness of the strife evolved in this conflict of peoples and beliefs. The struggle was for the possession of the Western world. We cannot affect or afford to take no interest in this marshalling in hostile array of the State and Church of our mother land with the Latin peoples and the faith of Rome. The strife is not yet ended. God has evidently willed it that on this continent there should be the struggle for the mastery between the two civilizations, the two races, the two faiths and the two ideas of freedom. From the day of the discovery of the continent by Cabot, in 1497, to the present hour the strife has never ceased. Four centuries have passed, and this very hour the old claims, the old assumptions, the old boasts are made anew. Rome claims our soil to-day by virtue of a Borgia's bull; and in consequence of an assumed discovery of the continent by Columbus which Roman Catholic students now confess that Columbus never made.§ The politician would

** Winsor's Monograph.

§ *Vide* Bronson's preface to Tarducco's *John and Sebastian Cabot.*

merge our very nationality in a Pan-Latin confederacy of republics, forgetful of our true origin, our historic past, our very speech and faith. The world has been invited to the city of the inland seas—the interocean capital, Chicago, to do honor to the Genoese discoverer whose eyes never saw, and whose feet never trod upon any portion of the territory of the United States. And statues have been raised and eulogiums have been spoken and the well-nigh omnipotent power of the press has been subsidized to blink the simple facts of history, and to give to others than our Anglo-Saxon and British sires, and to a faith which has but lately sought to ally itself with the republican form of government, a prominence and a recognition which are not theirs by right. We trace the beginning of our life as a nation, our liberty, our laws, our religious belief, transmitted in the line that connects us with the Lord Himself, to England, not to Spain; to Bristol, not to Palos; to Cabot, not to Columbus; and to the "Holy Church" of Magna Charta, and not to the corrupt Christianity which found in a Borgia a fitting head. The allocation of his holiness, Pope Leo XIII., issued at the time of the Columbian Exposition, claims "that the man"—Columbus—"was destined by a special plan of God to compensate Roman Catholicism for the injury which it was going to suffer in Europe." And this is so, proceeds

his holiness, because "Columbus was one of us." If thus the story of our discovery is to be interpreted, and that, too, by one claiming infallibility, should not the appeal to fact and testimony be made, and answer given to these palpable untruths? Rome is not to be indemnified by any gratitude of ours to the Genoese adventurer, or by our late recognition of Alexander's bull, for the dire disaster she experienced in the revolt of England, Germany, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and all of Europe save the Latin race. Our discovery was not accomplished under the authority or with the benediction of the Roman pontiff, and the Roman Church. It was in very truth and deed a "Protestant" act—this sailing westward of England's Cabot and this discovery of the Western mainland—one of the many and long-continued protests made by English Churchmen and statesmen against Roman usurpations and assumptions. It is well for us at this time, and under existing circumstances, to acquaint us with our country's past. There are principles involved, there are problems threatening us, which claim our careful thought.*†

In the struggle of these four centuries our civil and ecclesiastical liberties have been secured, wrung by force from Spain and France and Rome. This has been

*† A notable example of this unhistorical and uncritical mode of treatment of our country's past is found in Douglas Campbell's late work, *The Puritan*.

accomplished at the price of blood, of treasure, and with infinite pains. We may not wisely peril, without care or thought, our temporal heritage. The results of the discoveries of Columbus—the civilization introduced and fostered by Spain, the Christianity given to the Western world by Rome—whose boast is that she changes not as time goes on—are all before us to-day, as well as spread, so far as these four centuries go, on the pages of history—of history as penned by Roman Catholic writers themselves. That we, the people of the United States, are not, in our laws, our liberty, our lives, our religion, as the citizens of Mexico and the South American republics, is due, under God, to our English origin and our acceptance of the teachings of England's Catholic reformation.

We have of late, with pomp and circumstance, celebrated the discovery of a desolate West Indian island by the Genoese adventurer, Columbus, sailing under the auspices of Spain, and seeking not a new world but the "land of Ind," the "Cathay" of the spice-bearing and gem-yielding East. But if we are true to history, if we are mindful of incontrovertible and still existing facts, we shall remember, with gratitude to Almighty God, that we, the people of the United States of America, owe nothing to Columbus, nothing to Spain, nothing to Rome! Our national existence, our na-

tional institutions, our civil and religious liberty, our common law, our present glory, our standing among the peoples of the earth, our history, our literature, our culture—in short all that we are or may be—are due to the acknowledged principle of the survival of the fittest; to the supremacy secured in this struggle for the continent by English and American statesmen, soldiers, sailors, Churchmen, over Spanish and French adherents of the Roman faith. Had it been otherwise in this strife for the possession of a continent, our history would have been written in blood, like that of Mexico and Peru; liberty, civil or religious, would have been unknown among us; the rule of irresponsible power would have been supreme. Thus far the freedom from the domination of alien potentate or power, whether in Church or State; the institutions which have made us the envy of the world; the ruling ideas which permeate our very being; the tone of thought; the very manhood of the people of the United States, attest who were the victors to this struggle for the continent. The vantage ground is ours. It has been bravely won. Let us not peril or lose that which has been gained at such a cost of life and labor and only after centuries of ceaseless strife.

In the progress of years, this conflict of opposing races and faiths for the North American continent appears under varying

phases and forms. At first it was, as we have seen, a struggle for possession. It is not often that the annals of a nation give space or attention to the efforts of its people for the colonization and Christianizing of new lands. But the history of England at the epoch of the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses and the overthrow of the papal supremacy by Church and State during the reigns of the last of the Tudors is to be found in works such as Hakluyt's "Collection of Voyages," or in Purchas, "His Pilgrims," rather than in long lists of kings, or in chronicles of well-contested fights. We learn from the narratives of these Western voyages in what a holy war the English sailors and settlers deemed themselves engaged. The English priest went with his people, daring the dangers they faced and sharing the experiences which were theirs. "No peace beyond the line"—that geographical line drawn by the Roman pontiff in the interest of the Spanish people and the Latin Church—such was the cry of every English seaman sailing to the West, or English colonist hoping to found a home in the new world. And "no peace with Rome" was equally the popular cry on England's soil. It had been wrought into the very fibres of English hearts as the Marian fires of persecution at Smithfield and Oxford were recalled, and it was remembered with an intensity of bit-

terness and an absorbing passion for revenge, that the *auto de fe* at every Spanish settlement in the new world had again and again had for its victims English seamen and English traders, who chose rather the agonies of martyrdom than give up their purer faith at the bidding of the pitiless inquisitors of Rome.*

We cannot pause to detail the incidents of this bloody, long-continued strife in which English sea-captains and admirals, such as Hawkins, Cavendish and Drake, won the treasure and gained the experience which later on, with God's interposition, brought about the Armada's defeat, and gained for England's Church and State their crowning triumph over Spain and Rome. Long ere this great victory, there had been secured for England and England's Church a vantage ground in the new world which was never lost. Sailors and colonists set forth for the exploration and settlement of the American shores in the name and fear of God. The very log-books, the bills of lading, the invoices of traders, the charters of the great companies of adventurers, the letters-patent of discovery, each and all began with the invocation of the blessed Trinity, and declared with more or

* Hakluyt asserts that for fear of the "Spanish bloody Inquisition," the English traders were obliged to throw "Bibles and Prayer-books overboard into the sea before arrival at their ports, as these many years we have done and yet do." (Edinburgh edition, ii, 224). *Vide* also Kingsley's "Westward Ho!" for notices of the Inquisition as established in the Spanish-American settlements.

less distinctness the object inciting one and all in these enterprises. This was the acquisition of new realms for England's Crown and the founding in the new world of England's Church. It was thus that in the year 1578 Frobisher's fleet of fifteen sail had on board "One Maister Wolfall," sent out by the Queen's Council as priest and preacher to the Church of England voyagers in our northern seas. Not content with daily services and frequent sacraments on shipboard, this godly man—the first mission-priest of England's reformed but still Catholic Church who ministered on North American soil—celebrated the Eucharist on the shores of Hudson's bay, of which the old chronicler records that this "celebration of the divine mystery was the first sign, seal, and confirmation of Christ's name, death and Passion ever known in these quarters." A little later, in the summer of 1579, in connection with the discovery of California and Oregon by Francis Drake in his circumnavigation of the globe in the "Golden Hind," the first Christian services of any kind held on the northern Pacific coast were those of Francis Fletcher, priest of the Church of England, and chaplain and chronicler of this expedition. Here at Point Reyes's Head, on the shores of what is still known as Drake's bay, for six weeks from the Eve or Feast of S. John Baptist, the Church's matins

and evensong were regularly maintained, and services and sacraments were performed amidst the motley crowd of sailors and savages. Froude, following Spanish authorities, styles Francis Fletcher a "Puritan;" but Puritans did not then, and do not now, practice sacramental confession or celebrate the Eucharist with the accompaniments of lights and ornaments, as Francis Fletcher did. No one denies, or even doubts, that the chaplain of the "Golden Hind" was a priest in English orders, whatever may have been his politics or party preferences at a time when the word "Puritan" was not synonymous with "Separatist." A few years later, in the attempted settlement of Newfoundland by that noble Churchman, Sir Humphry Gilbert, in 1583, occurred the first organized effort of the English people to colonize the new world. The object of this settlement is given by Gilbert himself. It was, in the quaint language of the day, "the carriage of God's Word into those very mighty and vast countries." With the planting of the cross and the raising of the standard of S. George on the soil of the new-found land, Gilbert established the Church of England at his investiture of suzerainship in the Western world; and among his first enactments made provision for "public worship," according to th forms and usages of the Book of Comme Prayer. Later on the North Carolina coas

in 1587, were the services and sacraments at Raleigh's colony at Roanoke—the baptism of the Indian chieftain Manteo on the ninth Sunday after Trinity, August 13, and, on the following Sunday, of Virginia Dare, "the first Christian born in Virginia." Thus Christianly, in faith and charity, and with prayer and sacraments, did our fathers enter upon the conquest of the continent for Christ and His Holy Church. The governor of Raleigh's earlier attempted settlement at Roanoke, had written to Walsingham, the Queen's Secretary of State, as to the purpose of this effort of "the Father of American colonization" to colonize the "Virgin's Land." It was, he asserts, not merely "the addition of such a kingdom as this" of the new world to the Queen's domains. The bringing of English Churchmen to America would effect, he claimed, "a relief and freedom from the servitude and thralldom" with which "Spain hath of long time most miserably oppressed the Church of Christ throughout Christendom." The governor was confident that Christ would not "suffer His enemies, the papists, to triumph over the overthrow of this most Christian action." † He writes, on the day this letter to Walsingham was penned, some further "ill-fashioned lines" to Sir Philip Sydney, the Bayard of Elizabethan chivalry;

† These extracts from Lane's letter to Walsingham are found in "Archæologia Americana," iv, 8 18.

the Sir Percival of England's Church, who had contemplated leading an English colony to the new world. Lane urged Sir Philip Sydney to undertake an expedition against San Domingo, with a view of diverting the attention of Spain—then contemplating the invasion of England—from these schemes of conquest in Europe to the preservation of her possessions in the West Indies. This letter indicates the implacable hatred of the Englishmen of that age to Spain and Rome, the nation's foes, in the argument used by Lane to win Sydney to his plans. He was conjured not "to refuse the good oeportunity of such a service to the Church of Christ as the seizure of the mines of treasure in the possession of Spain would be."‡ It was the golden wealth of Mexico and Peru, wrung by fiendish cruelties from the natives, and blood-red with murder and fouled with every form of insatiate lust, that was arming and equipping the Great Armada which was preparing to settle the question of supremacy in the old world and the new alike, in the conquest of England by Spain, and its conversion to Rome through the arguments of fire and sword, the rack, the thumb screw and the stake. These efforts of Gilbert and Raleigh for founding a Church and a commonwealth in the new world, with the view of rescuing the continent from Spain and Rome, and the

‡ "Archæologia Americana," iv, 8-18.

later and more successful founding of Church and State at Jamestown, Virginia, and at Fort S. George in Maine in the year 1607,—thirteen years before the landing of the "Pilgrim Fathers" on Plymouth Rock—were inspired by like heroic sentiments; and, in spite of mistakes and mishaps, failed not of ultimate success. The records of these efforts to colonize the new world are the initial chapters in the history of the struggle for the possession of the North American continent between England's Church and State and the Spanish people and the Roman Church.§

The early years of the seventeenth century offered a strange contrast between the apparent successes of the Latin peoples and the faith of Rome in Mexico, in Florida and New France, and the condition and prospects of the feeble and scattered communities of English Churchmen on the Atlantic coast. Already heroic priests of the Roman obedience were giving their lives freely in their efforts to bring the aborigines of the middle West of the continent to alle-

§ The religious aspect of the struggle for the possession of North America between the English Church and Crown, and Spain and Rome is clearly brought out in the latest and perhaps the noblest contribution to American history this age has produced. The "Genesis of the United States," by Alexander Brown, D.C.L., (two volumes, illustrated, Boston, 1891), gives us, from sources hitherto overlooked and inaccessible, abundant evidences that the statesmen and Churchmen and even the courtiers of England were fully alive to the importance of securing for England's Crown and Church the North American continent. The archives of the Spanish court, at Simancas, quoted in these noble volumes of Dr. Brown's, reveal the full understanding in Spain, and by the authorities of the Roman Church, of this purpose of the English Church and Court.

giance to France and to acceptance of the faith of Rome. In the conquest of Mexico, this work of conversion had been long since practically completed, though accomplished through the reckless shedding of blood and by the exercise of fiendish cruelty. In Florida, after bitter and bloody strife between Spaniards and Frenchmen, the Spaniards were in quiet possession of the ground, and zeal for the conversion of the natives had well-nigh died out. At the north the mighty S. Lawrence and the territory it drained, reaching to the inland seas and thence to the upper valley of the Mississippi, were already the domain of the King of France. Surrounded north, west and south by a cordon of settlements and fortifications of Frenchmen and Spaniards, with Jesuit fathers penetrating the farthest recesses of the wilderness, exploring the intricacies of the western water courses, firing the hearts of the savages with hatred of the English and the Englishman's faith; it would have seemed that the continent was already secured for the Latin peoples and the Roman Church. The struggle for possession at the beginning of the seventeenth century appeared to be decided against the English people and the English Church. But God had willed it otherwise.

A century passed, and there had begun between the rival races and the rival faiths a struggle for supremacy—for the master-

ship of the continent. The English settlements and civilization were now advancing with rapid strides. The French at the north and west, and the Spaniards at the south and southwest, were declining in power and wealth. The expedition of Argall, Governor of Virginia, against Port Royal of New France, in 1613, was the first aggressive act of the English colonists, who felt how incompatible with their very existence were the presence on this continent of the Latin peoples of any nation whatever, and the faith of Rome. The French, as Parkman in his latest volumes tells us, inspired their savage allies to hate and destroy the English heretics, whether it were the Puritans of New England, the Lutherans of New York, or the Churchmen of the South. The attack of the French as intruders on English territory was, as we have seen, begun by the Virginia Churchmen before the landing on Plymouth Rock. The struggle was at length forced upon the Massachusetts settlers, and their co-religionists, for the "Bostonnais" for years found traffic with the French at Port Royal and S. John both pleasant and profitable. Thence-

We hear again of the Bull of Pope Alexander VI. in this connection. "The occupation of the Bay of Mobile (1700-1701) by the French, drew a protest from the Spaniards, who rested their claims to the country on the famous bull of Pope Alexander VI. The question was referred to the two crowns. Louis XIV, a staunch champion of the papacy when his duties as a Catholic did not clash with his interest as a king, refused submission to the bull, insisted that the Louisiana country was his, and declared that he would hold fast to it because he was bound, as a son of holy Church, to convert the Indians and keep out the English heretics" (Parkman i, 294, 295).

forth the annals of these days are rubricated in blood. Fire and the sword were met at every step of the advance of the English civilization. The wage of war—war with the very worst of combatants—was fearlessly taken up. It was a contest with skulking, revengeful, pitiless savages, sparing neither women nor children, and incited by their French allies and their Jesuit teachers to acts of fiendish cruelty. The tortures visited by these base marauders consequent upon their inhuman mode of warfare aroused the English colonists, from the farthest North to the everglades of the South, to an intense enthusiasm to drive Frenchman and black-robed Jesuit and the savages themselves from this land forever. Again the struggle became a holy war. It was felt to be the pitting against each other of warring peoples and rival faiths. These French and Indian wars, waged by our fathers, were acts of faith, and our ancestors in colonial days went forth to the deadly strife in the faith and fear of God.

The New England troops marched to the capture of Louisbourg—styled by Parkman "the offspring of the Crown and its ally, the Church" *—with the banner over them bearing the legend, *Nil desperandum, Christo duce*, given to the troops by the great evangelistic priest and missioner of the English Church, George Whitefield. The ad-

* Parkman, i. 181.

vances of the same foes along the Ohio and among the Alleghanies were met by the young Washington, whose religious enthusiasm was evidenced by his reading of prayers at the head of his regiment day by day throughout the campaign, when the parsimony of the Virginia authorities prevented the employment of a chaplain for the troops in the field. † From the desolated homes, the hamlets plundered and destroyed, the towns burned to the ground, and the fate of hundreds, if not thousands of hapless captives condemned to a life-long misery, worse than the death which had befallen their fathers, husbands, sons—there was enkindled that hatred of the Latin peoples and that distrust of the Roman faith which could not be repressed. The struggle lasted for a century and a half. Begun by the Virginia governor in 1613, it ended when the French Monarch, caring little for the acres of snow and ice for which his predecessors had expended so much blood and treasure, gave up the struggle for the supremacy of the Latin race and the

† Mr. William Evarts Benjamin, of New York, has in his possession, from among the Washington MSS long in the hands of the Hon Bushrod Washington, a manuscript of prayers for every day in the week (those for Friday and Saturday are wanting) in the handwriting of George Washington, and evidently used by him on his expedition against the French and Indians. Washington Irving refers to the young Virginia colonel's habit of having prayers at the head of his regiment, and we are all aware of the reading by Washington of the Office for the Burial of the Dead from the Book of Common Prayer at the midnight obsequies of Braddock. We may regard the Father of his Country as perhaps the most prominent "lay-reader" of the American Church in the age in which he lived, as well as for all time to come.

Church of Rome on the North American continent. It was thus that the Atlantic coast, from the far north to Florida, was, after a conflict lasting for a century and a half, won for the English Crown, and thus the English civilization, the English faith and Church, the English ideas of liberty and law, secured the final victory.

It is an illustration of what Parkman styles "the singularly contrasted characters and methods of the rival claimants to North America during this struggle for supremacy" to note their respective modes of treatment of the aborigines. Of the atrocity of the Spanish measures for Christianizing the natives of America we need only inquire of Spanish authorities. It was the baptism of blood that was forced upon these simple, guileless Indians whom Columbus himself enslaved and slaughtered till, even in his lifetime, and through his pitiless greed, the native peoples within his reach were practically exterminated.

Of the much vaunted missions of the French the impartial Parkman writes, in his latest volumes: "It was the reproach of the Jesuit missions that they left the savage a savage still, and asked little of him but the practice of certain rites, and the passive acceptance of dogmas to him incomprehensible." ‡ "The results of the Jesuit missions in the West had been

‡ Parkman's "A Half Century of Conflict," i. 22

meagre and transient to a surprising degree,"‖ says the same acknowledged authority. It was the confession of a royal governor of New France in 1699 that "thus far all fruits of the missions consist in the baptism of infants who die before reaching the age of reason."§ It may be true that the Jesuit Fathers of New France, such as Jorgues, Brebeuf, Lallemant and Charles Garnier, were both apostles as well as martyrs; but their successors were, as Parkman proves,¶ political agents rather than Christian priests in this race and faith struggle for supremacy. "I am well pleased," wrote the Governor Vandreuil in 1721 to Father Sebastian Rale, "that you and Pere de la Chasse have prompted the Indians to treat the English as they have done. My orders are to let them (the savages) want for nothing, and I send them plenty of ammunition."** So far from exhibiting "the peaceable fruits of righteousness" the historian, in describing the period characterized by Cotton Mather as "the woful decade"—*decennum lachrymosum*—asserts that "the instruments of this ignoble warfare and the revolting atrocities that accompanied it were all, or nearly all, converted Indians of the Jesuit mission."†† Is it a wonder that Parkman should characterize

‖ Parkman's "A Half Century of Conflict," i. 23.
§ Ibid, i 23.
¶ Ibid, i. 134.
** Ibid, i. 227.
†† Ibid, i. 45.

this so-called "conversion" to a Christianity "thus divorced from civilization and showing nothing of the teachings of Christ," as "a failure and a fraud?" ‡‡ Contrast the results of these missionary labors of the Latin Church with those of the Church of England at the South and North, and those of the Apostle Eliot in New England. A Christian people to-day attest the methods of the English missionaries among the Mohawks of New York. The Prayer Book translated, in part, early in the eighteenth century, and completed a hundred years and more ago, with the Gospel of S. John, is used to-day both in Canada and in the United States. Eliot gave to the Indians of his time the Bible complete in their own tongue; but no one can read to-day his painstaking work, and all traces of his labors have long since disappeared. But the Indian names on the catalogues of "Harvard" and "William and Mary" and the sweet memories of Manteo, Pocahontas, and scores and hundreds of our aborigines whose lives have been answerable to their Christian profession, stand out in strong and telling contrast with the savagery of the Jesuit mission converts, whose priests alone gave absolution to the Indians "on condition of always being enemies of the English." ‖‖ It was then as it is to-day.

‡‡ Parkman's "A Half Century of Conflict," i. 24.
‖‖ Ibid, i. 195.

There was no improvement of the Indian's condition, no uplifting of his spiritual or intellectual nature, no development of a higher life, contemplated or secured by the Jesuit missionaries of New France in their abundant labors. Consequently, in all that vast and undefined reach of territory which La Salle had called Louisiana, stretching from the Great Lakes to the mouth of the Mississippi, no trace exists to-day of all these efforts. The imperfect Latin Christianity, if Christianity it can be called—"the religion of hatred and cruelty, of rapine and blood," faded out of sight before the advance of the English Christianity, the English civilization, the English ideas of liberty and law. It is futile for the Church of Rome to lay claim to the possession of the territory of the United States on the ground that much of our soil "has been fertilized by the sweat and blood of (Roman) Catholic explorers, founders of colonies, and missionaries." The work of the Latin peoples and the Church of Rome in the development of our nationality was swept away before the incoming of a purer faith and a nobler race. Again we assert —and history bears out and verifies the claim we make—that we, the people of the United States, owe nothing, so far as the development of our nationality, the growth of our Christianity are concerned, to Spain, nothing to France, nothing to Rome.

The struggle for the supremacy of the continent was succeeded by a struggle for acquisition. In this strife the new-born nation of the United States—itself the outcome of these years of contention—has in the first century of its existence taken a leading part. What is known as the Quebec Bill, passed by Parliament on the cession of New France, recognizing the Roman hierarchy in Canada and securing to the Jesuits their vast possessions and privileges, and consequently their power, was among the grievances of the Americans at the opening of the war of the Revolution. It was by this measure that Canada was saved to England when the thirteen colonies were lost. But the United States, foiled in its efforts to make the northern portion of the continent American, began at once the effort for the acquisition of Florida, Louisiana§§ and the middle West by diplomacy and purchase. The presence of Latin peoples and the Roman faith on this continent was deemed by our fathers incompatible with their own civilization, their institutions, their freedom, their faith. As new territory was acquired, there was a united effort on the part of the clergy and members of our own communion, in common with our fellow-citizens of other religious beliefs, to take possession of this illim-

§§ In French Louisiana, Parkman tells us that "freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, of trade, of action, were alike denied" (i. 306). It was equally so in Spanish Florida.

itable domain for the common Christianity of the English-speaking race. The recognition of this primary duty was among the earliest legislative enactments of our Church in its synodical capacity, and the pioneer priests of our own communion penetrated the farthest recesses of our new territorial acquisitions. The Louisiana purchase opened new regions for occupancy and conquest, and when, to the obliteration of the claims of Frenchman or Spaniard to the regions drained by the Mississippi, there has been added by conquest or cession from the Latin people of Mexico first the empire of Texas, and then California and New Mexico,** the strife for acquisition is well-nigh completed. To-day the struggle for acquisition—the third great period in the contest for the continent between the civilization, the civil and religious liberty, the very Christianity of the English-speaking peoples and that of the Latin race and the Roman faith—is well-nigh over. To-day the people of the United States are practically homogeneous.

We in our freedom represent to-day the liberty won for holy Church, and for the

** "The reverent student of our history cannot fail to note that the discovery of gold in California was providentially kept back till the land had been secured to our American civilization and enjoyed the civil and religious freedom of the United States. While California was Spanish and Roman Catholic, its gold was hidden from view. When it became a part of our territory and was open to the influence of our true Catholic Christianity, its treasures were laid open to the world. And yet Francis Fletcher, in "The World Encompassed," at the period of California's first discovery, wrote plainly of its auriferous soil.

English-speaking people of all time to come, by an Archbishop of Canterbury, and the English barons, from a perfidious monarch, backed in his opposition to the nation's will, and in his denial of the people's rights, by the Roman pontiff and the Roman Church. We represent to-day the civil and religious liberty preserved to the English-speaking race when God shattered the Armada by His winds and storms, and humbled the pride of Philip and set at naught the plans of his pampered priests who were striving for the supremacy of the old world and the new. Our institutions, our liberties, our civilization, our faith are not derived from the Latin peoples, or those of the Roman obedience. We, to-day—from the farthest limit of our northern coast, from the remotest point of our Alaskan acquisitions, all along the Atlantic and Pacific shores and throughout the middle west—north, south, east and west—proclaim our civil and ecclesiastical freedom from alien potentate and power. We rejoice in a freedom, personal, national, religious, built up upon England's Magna Charta, the English Bill of Rights, the English Common Law, the English Bible and the English Book of Common Prayer;*†

*† A recent and most able philosophical historical writer, Professor John Fiske, in one of his recent works, "The Beginnings of New England; or The Puritan Theocracy in its Relations to Civil and Religious Liberty," draws attention to the contrast between what he styles "The Roman Idea and the English Idea" of nation-making. The Roman method was that of conquest with incorporation, but without repre-

finding expression, so far as the body politic is concerned, in our Declaration of Independence and our Federal Constitution; and, so far as relates to our ecclesiastical freedom, in the American Church constituted as an autonomous, independent portion of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, free from all alien rule, free from the behests of any foreign potentate or power, by the very soldiers and statesmen who, in the halls of Congress or on the battlefield, won for us our independence.

In view of these historic facts, it is evident that the epochs in the development of the nation—first, the struggle for possession; secondly, the struggle for supremacy, and finally the struggle for acquisition, covering as they do the periods of all our past history—become vitally important. Recognizing as we must the warring of the rival races, and the rival faiths, the rival civilizations, the rival theories of liberty,

sentation. This was an advance, indeed, on the Oriental method, which was simply conquest without incorporation; but even the Roman method was not equal to the English idea, which was incorporation with representation. In common with most students of American history, Mr. Fiske, while recognizing the religious element in the "making" of the American republic, and paying a fitting tribute to the Church of England in this connection, ascribes too important a part in the development of the nation to the Puritans, who, as he elsewhere concedes, established a theocracy and not a representative government. The idea and the realization of a representative government in the New World are first found in the Virginia House of Burgess, elected by the people in accordance with the charter given them by the Virginia Company of London, and assembled in the Church at Jamestown in 1619. Here, before the coming of the Plymouth settlers, was laid, with the accompaniment of the Church's prayers and the blessing of the Church's priest, the foundation-stone of American freedom.

and the contrasted ideas of nation-making, we may not forget that in this strife for the mastery these opposing forces have made our speech English, our political institutions those of constitutional liberty, and our religion that of the English-speaking peoples rather than that of Spain or France or Rome. It is the knowledge of these facts of our origin, our history, our present condition that compels us, as we contrast our greatness and our glory with that of Mexico and the South American republics, which represent the Latin civilization, the Latin ideas of freedom and the Latin faith, to distrust the efforts of an alien communion, recognizing as its earthly head a foreign potentate, and taking its very dogmas at the bidding of a foreign power, to reverse the decision of these four centuries of struggle for the possession of our continent. The successes of these years of conflict must not be imperiled, must not be lost. We recognize with full sympathy and profound respect the evidences so apparent at this very time of the wish and purpose of the most intelligent and most astute of the Roman hierarchy to Americanize so far as they may the Roman Church. We note with interest the proffered alliance of the Roman pontiff with democracy in the old world, and we see evidences of the same willingness to bring the papacy into conformity, so far as is possible, with Amer-

ican institutions and American ideas. But a communion in subjection to an alien potentate and a foreign rule can never become the Church of the United States—the American Church. Providence forbids such a transformation. History refuses to recognize the change of unchanging Rome. The Church of the great republic must be an American, not the Roman, Catholic Church. It will not take its dogmatic utterances from the Vatican councils, or refer its doctrinal beliefs to the *dicta* of a Roman pontiff. We cannot, after centuries of struggling for our civil and ecclesiastical freedom, submit to the Propaganda or the Pope of Rome as to the question of our school system, or with reference to our theological beliefs. The "Italian mission" in this land—for such the Roman Catholic communion in the United States is, in spite of all its flauntings of being an American Church—cannot claim our allegiance as if it were, indeed, American by virtue of the alleged discovery made by Columbus or the planting of portions of the continent by Spain and France. The Church of the American people must be herself American, subject alone to the Church's Divine Head. The liberty which is ours must not be lightly parted with. It is ours by virtue of the long-continued struggle with the Latin peoples and the Church of Rome. We shall be sadly derelict to duty, to the

lessons of history, to the memory of our fathers, if we yield now the vantage ground secured by the toil, the treasure, the life-blood of those who have gone before us. We, freemen whom the truth has made free, freemen in Christ our Lord, must live, labor, and, if need be, die for country and for Church. We may never wisely cease to struggle to maintain the freedom won by our fathers and to further the life and purpose of the Church they shaped and moulded in its independent organization in conformity with the government they had introduced. Recognizing the lessons of our history, we must transmit to those who shall come after us the heritage which is now ours, of civil and religious freedom, as found in the American Republic and exemplified in the American Church.

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